

Palestine Perspectives

Number 32

November/December 1987



OCCUPATION DIALOGUE
Inside . . .
Storm Over Gaza

Editorial Editorial Editorial

SHULTZ AND THE PALESTINIANS

Secretary of State George Shultz went to the Middle East in October and accomplished nothing. And it was not in spite of his efforts that he failed, but because of them.

Mr. Shultz took with him an assumption that has been shown to be sterile many times before: that it is the role of the Palestinians to facilitate Arab-Israeli peace without enjoying the fruits of that peace. When this assumption collapsed, again, Shultz lashed out at the Palestinians for not cooperating with his fantasy.

A number of local Palestinians from the occupied territories failed to respond to an invitation to see Mr. Shultz in Jerusalem during his recent visit. Seeing no point in a dialogue with a man who had made it abundantly clear on numerous occasions in the past that his mind has no space for Palestinian concerns, the Palestinians declined an opportunity to meet Mr. Shultz.

Mr. Shultz, wrapped up as he is in his Israeli-inspired stereotype of the Palestinians, proclaimed that local Palestinians were threatened and out of fear they declined to meet with him. That shows, he announced, that peace has enemies.

It is ironic that the Secretary of State, fresh from ordering the Palestine Information Office in Washington closed, blames the Palestinians for missing an opportunity for a dialogue with him. The Secretary, we assume, is intelligent enough to understand that when he supported

outlawing any contacts between U.S. officials and Palestinian representatives (the PLO), he also outlawed American-Palestinian dialogue. Then why is he unhappy?

It is obvious that Secretary Shultz, constrained by Israeli guidelines, has not yet understood the impracticality of his "recall" campaign against the PLO, and the futility of trying to install in its place a Palestinian leadership of his (and Israel's) choosing. He knows that the Palestinians hold the key to the legitimacy of Arab-Israeli peace, simply because it is their fate and the future of their homeland which constitute the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict. What the Secretary needs to do is to face this fact instead of continuing to run around it.

We assure the Secretary of State that the Palestinians—in and out of occupied Palestine—are not enemies of peace in the Middle East. Without attributing lofty motives, suffice it to point out a fact that everyone knows: that the Palestinians have been the primary victim of conflict and violence in the Middle East. They have lost their country, all of it; they have been forced to live in exile or under military occupation, all of them; they have experienced massacres, endured harassment, and they have been hunted and intimidated. They have been a people denied. If for no other reason but survival, the Palestinians yearn for a just peace.

It is unfair, and downright cruel, to accuse them of being enemies of peace because they cannot afford to cooperate in a scheme to perpetuate their exclusion from the system of peace. And we take this opportunity to assure Mr. Shultz that the minute he wants to talk peace to the Palestinians, he would find them receptive and most cooperative. We also assure him that as long as he continues to subcontract for Israel's anti-Palestinian policy, he would continue to be frustrated. It is as simple, and as fundamental, as that. □

M. Hallaj

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HAPPY HOLIDAYS

The offices of *Palestine Perspectives* will be closed for the holidays from 23 December 1987 to 4 January 1988. We would like to take this opportunity to wish our readers and their families happy holidays.

Palestine Perspectives is a bimonthly magazine on Palestinian affairs. Address: 9522A Lee Highway, Fairfax, VA 22031. Telephone: (703) 352-4168. Facsimile: (703) 352-4169.

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Subscription rates: \$15/year in the United States and Canada (\$10 for students); and \$25 elsewhere. Add \$10 to checks drawn on banks outside the U.S. Subscribers receive their copies by airmail.

Signed articles express the views of their authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of *Palestine Perspectives* or its staff.

Five Years Later . . .

WE STILL HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO

By Ellen Siegel

Judaism commands one generation to pass on its knowledge and experience to the next. It is now my turn.

Let us think back to five years ago, to the summer of 1982. Eleven months of peace and quiet had prevailed on the Israeli-Lebanese border. On June 3, an assassination attempt was made on the life of Israel's ambassador to England, Shlomo Argov. This became the official Israeli justification for an invasion of Lebanon. We all had anticipated that this day would come; we did not realize just how forcefully this would occur.

For the next two and one-half months West Beirut was subjected to an often relentless barrage of high explosives, white phosphorous, and cluster bombs.

By mid-August "Operation Peace for Galilee" was over. PLO forces were to be withdrawn and evacuated. On August 21, we saw the fourth exodus of Palestinians in 34 years. PLO fighters sailed off from the shores of Beirut.

On August 23, Bashir Gemayel, Commander of the Lebanese Forces, was elected President of Lebanon. I arrived on September 2. The Beirut I saw was in ruins. Nothing had been untouched. Everywhere was rubble, streets were littered with glass, burned and crushed belongings were strewn about. Dwellings were uninhabitable. Families had been dispersed, dispossessed, and disunited. Bodies that were once whole were now masses of charred skin, limbless, blinded; some unrecognizable. The pain and suffering were overwhelming.

I began work as a nurse at Gaza Hospital in Sabra Camp. Inhabitants of the camp lived in fear. They were attempting to put their lives back together. The long process of healing and rehabilitation for those who survived had begun. By September 9, the last of multinational peace-keeping forces that had been sent to Beirut departed.

Less than a week later, Bashir Gemayel was assassinated. Early the next day Israeli planes flew over Beirut. Machine gun fire was heard, first sporadically, then growing stronger as the day progressed. By September 16, rumors of a massacre abounded.

Panic ensued. Thousands of camp residents fled to our hospital, searching for shelter and safety. There was a feeling of absolute helplessness—of having no way out. That evening flares supplied by the Israeli Defense Forces illuminated neighborhoods of the camp. They were followed by machine gun fire. On the morning of the 17th, those who had sought the protection of the hospital had fled; it was no longer a safe area.

The high explosives came very close to the hospital, smoke poured in through the windows, equipment shook, windows cracked. By nightfall, only sporadic machine gun fire could be heard. What remained were the critically ill and wounded and the international health workers. On the morning of September 18, the health workers were led out of the hospital by the Lebanese forces, past dead bodies, past an Israeli bulldozer covering up a mass grave. We were taken to an interrogation area outside of the camp controlled by the IDF and then across the street to the Israeli Forward Command Post. There Israeli soldiers

(continued on page 3)



ONE MORE SMALL STEP

By Kubi Niv

[The following article, which appeared in the Israeli daily Ha'aretz of 17 April 1987, is reprinted from the Shahak Papers, #2, 1987]:

A few weeks ago, I watched an Israeli television report covering the visit to Israel of a delegation of black women from South Africa. The reporter explained that the members of this delegation were "women deprived of their rights" who have traveled from distant South Africa to visit our Knesset. And there, in our Knesset, the guests were addressed by a socialist member of parliament representing the Labor Alignment, who spoke to them in English with a Polish accent, making sure to speak very slowly, emphasizing every word as if she were speaking to a group of retarded children. The Knesset member babbled about the need for a common struggle for equality and similar nonsense.

"I can bus them 50,000 women 'deprived of their rights' from East Jerusalem, Nablus, Ramallah . . ."

I must admit that I sat in front of the television set in shock. Dear God, I thought, why do they bother to go to South Africa to bring a delegation of women "deprived of their rights?" Just a few feet away they have thousands of women "deprived of their rights." Why did they have to send a plane to South Africa? I can bus them 50,000 women "deprived of their rights" from East Jerusalem, Nablus, Ramallah . . .

Why doesn't any TV reporter even say that Palestinian women are "deprived of their rights?" Why doesn't the socialist Labor member of the Knesset address Palestinian women in primitive English with a Polish accent about the need for a common struggle for equality for all? How blind can they get?

I'll tell you. The South African government which you, television reporters and socialist members of the Knesset from Labor love so much to hate because of its racist regime, this South African government has permitted this delegation of women "deprived of their rights" to visit Israel (and probably other places around the world). But your beloved and enlightened government, the government of Israel, will not permit any delegation of Palestinian women "deprived of their rights" to leave neither to South Africa nor to any other place in the world.

Thus it seems that black women "deprived of their rights" in South Africa have a little more rights than Palestinian women "deprived of their rights" in glorious Israel. Yes, go on like this . . . and you shall even reach destinations farther than those reached by South Africa. You are not very far behind; one more small step and we will make it! □



FIVE YEARS LATER (continued from page 2)

stood on top of the roof, looking down at the camps through binoculars. We were then driven away from the camps and dropped off close to the American embassy.

It was over. Approximately 800 Palestinian and Lebanese men, women, and children living in the Sabra and Shatila camps of West Beirut had been massacred. As survivors wept and searched for family members, the world awakened to pictures splashed across the front pages of newspapers, pictures of bloated corpses heaped on top of one another in narrow alleyways. Jews were celebrating the second day of the Jewish New Year.

Who bears the responsibility for this atrocity? What was Israel's role? The Lebanese Forces committed the killings. Israel was occupying West Beirut at the time. Israel sealed off the camps for a militia that regarded the Palestinians as staunch enemies; the IDF prevented terrified residents from escaping, supplied the flares used to light the way of the murderers, provided at least one bulldozer that disposed of bodies and destroyed homes, and did not intervene when it became clear that innocent lives were being taken.

What followed in Israel was the largest demonstration in its history—400,000 took to the streets to demand an inquiry. As a result the Kahan Commission, or Commission of Inquiry into the Massacres at Sabra and Shatila, was established. Dr. Swee Chai-Ang, Dr. Paul Morris, and I testified before it in November 1982.

Five years have passed. Menachem Begin, Prime Minister at the time, is a recluse, depressed over the number of deaths and casualties of the "Lebanon War." Yitzhak Shamir, who was Foreign Minister, is now Prime Minister.

WELL SAID

"The occupiers are always right. You can argue with them as much as you wish, cite as many authoritative sources as you are able to collect, point out the gross lapses in their logic, provide an exhaustive list of cases that contradict every word they say, and yet they manage to be—in the end—quite right."

This would be disheartening if it wasn't so absurd."

Joost Hiltermann, "Occupational Hazards," *Middle East International* (London), No. 310 (10 October 1987)

Ariel Sharon, the Defense Minister at the time and the true architect of the invasion, is now Israel's Industry and Trade Minister. Brigadier General Amos Yaron, who was the Israeli Commander of the Beirut area, is now Israel's military attache to the United States, a prestigious position. To quote from the Kahan Commission report, "from all the reports, it became known to Brigadier General Yaron that the Phalangists were perpetrating acts of killing which went beyond combat operations, and were killing women and children as well... No action was taken by Brigadier General Yaron, and neither did he see to conveying the information in his possession to his superiors." The State Department is attempting to shut down the PLO office in Washington, yet accepts the diplomatic credentials of Yaron. This is shameful.

The invasion failed to achieve its objectives. Israel is not at peace with another Arab state. The military threat to her borders has not gone away; in fact a more militant and radical enemy has emerged. The IDF is still stuck in Lebanon. And the PLO has not been crushed as a nationalist movement or a political entity; it actually has been strengthened.

On a personal note, this is my 15th year of support work for the Palestinian struggle. In 1972 I could count on the fingers of both hands the number of Jews actually involved in the Palestinian cause. Fifteen years ago just saying the word "Palestinian" made other Jews cringe. Today there exist many strong Israeli and American Jewish voices calling for the right of self-determination for the Palestinians, recognition of the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinians, and an independent Palestinian state. Recently representatives from the American-Israeli Council for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace, New Jewish Agenda, and my organization, Washington Area Jews for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace, returned from a productive meeting with PLO Chairman Arafat in Tunis.

Jews are beginning to recognize that the Palestinian people have suffered a basic injustice in being dispossessed from their land and that the Palestinians have a fundamental moral right to resist occupation. We still have a long way to go, but the path has been paved; we need only walk down it.

It has been an honor and privilege for me to serve the Palestinian people. I thank them for allowing me the opportunity. May we continue until a just and equitable peace is achieved. □

ANTI-PALESTINIAN LEGISLATION

The Pressure to Silence the Arabs in America Continues

The advocates of silencing the Arabs in America continued their campaign to secure a monopoly for Israeli-Zionist views in this country. After pressing the Reagan administration to close the Palestine Information Office in Washington, pro-Israel forces pushed for a more comprehensive anti-Palestinian policy.

In the Senate, the Grassley-Dole bill was introduced on 8 October as an amendment to the Foreign Relations Act (S. 1394). It seeks to make it unlawful "to establish or maintain an office, headquarters, premises, or other facilities or establishments" in the United States "at the behest or direction of, or with funds provided by the Palestine Liberation Organization or any of its constituent groups."

The amendment would also make it unlawful to receive "anything of value" from the PLO or any agency associated with it. If passed into law, the bill would mandate the closure of the PLO mission to the United Nations, an act which would violate treaty obligations of the United States. The bill, after having been approved by the Senate, is currently in Conference Committee of both houses.

Objections at the U.N.

Opposition to the Grassley bill, which conflicts with U.S. international obligations as the host country of the United Nations—where the PLO has Permanent Observer status since 1974—has been voiced at the international organization. The Arab Group, consisting of all Arab members of the U.N., has addressed a letter to the Secretary-General protesting the anti-Palestinian move. The letter, dated 12 October 1987, objected to the Senate bill on the following grounds:

1. It "constitutes a hostile act against the Palestinian people" who have chosen the PLO as their legitimate representative, and "is contrary to the inalienable rights of that people."
2. It "runs counter to the process of establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."
3. It "violates the right to freedom of expression."
4. It is "in flagrant contradiction with the [U.N.] Headquarters Agreement and, by that token, with the rules of international law."

The letter said that "The Arab Group will on no account agree to the violation of the status of the United Nations" or any of its members, and "will take all necessary steps within the framework of the United Nations system...in the name of lawfulness and international law." It also requested the Secretary-General to contact the concerned parties to ensure observance of the rights of the U.N. and its members.

Opposition to the anti-Palestinian bill was also voiced by the U.N. Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. A press release by the United Nations (20 October) quoted the Chairman of the Committee, ambassador Mossamba Sarre of Senegal, saying that "A vast majority of countries were gravely concerned" about the anti-Palestinian move.



PLO Permanent Observer to the U.N., Zehdi Terzi, said that the move to close PLO offices fits into a pattern of acts designed to deny the Palestinians the right to participate in the peace process.

U.S. ambassador Vernon Walters assured the Committee that the administration does not support the closure of the PLO U.N. mission, and that the administration will make its opposition known to the congressional Conference Committee as it considers the legislation. He agreed that closing the PLO mission would violate America's international obligations under the Headquarters Agreement with the United Nations.

Concern over Senate action to close the PLO mission was also expressed by the Organization of the Islamic Conference. A statement by the OIC said that "the PLO Observer Mission to the United Nations was present in the United States in accordance with General Assembly Resolution on November 22, 1974, as well as the Headquarters Agreement between the United States as host country and the United Nations." The Grassley bill is "a flagrant violation of the norms of international law and the rights of the United Nations."

Also, United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar stated that the presence of the PLO U.N. Mission was legal under U.N. treaties. "The members of the PLO Observer Mission," he said, "are invitees of the United Nations and, as such, they are covered by the Headquarters Agreement of June 26, 1947" with the United States government. The treaty obliges the U.S. government, he explained, to permit PLO Observer Mission personnel to enter and remain in the United States to carry out their official functions.

PIO Gets Extension

In Washington, the Palestine Information Office—ordered closed by mid-October—has received permission to remain open till the first of December. The director of the office had written the State Department requesting an extension of six months.

In his letter, the director of PIO who is a citizen of the United States said: "Your efforts to close this office constitute a violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, for which I will seek redress in court." He asked for the extension "so that we have an opportunity to fully discuss the rights involved before we face the possibility of litigation." The State Department granted the office an extension of 45 days, until the beginning of December. □

DEAR READERS

To ensure that you will continue to receive your copy of *Palestine Perspectives* on time, please let us know promptly if you change your address. Thank you.



INTERVIEW WITH FAROUK QADDOUMI

Top PLO Diplomat Discusses Palestinian Concerns

[During his recent visit to New York for the United Nations General Assembly session, Farouk Qaddoumi, head of the Political Department of the PLO, was interviewed by Abdessalam Massarueh. The following is a summary of the interview, which took place on 6 October 1987]:

Q: *How does the Palestine Liberation Organization view the State Department's order to close the Palestine Information Office in Washington?*

A: The United States has failed—directly or through Israel—to liquidate the Palestinian Revolution. It tried to get the European countries to close PLO missions there and also failed. So it closed down the Palestine Information Office in Washington.

This act does not serve the cause of peace in the Middle East; it obstructs it. It undercuts America's credibility as a peacemaker.

Q: *Washington says that the last Palestine National Council permitted groups it says are involved in terrorism to return to the PLO.*

A: The last PNC reinforced the Palestinian national movement within the framework of the PLO. Nothing in the PLO's political program changed; the PNC simply reaffirmed previous resolutions.

The U.S. government does not want the PLO to recover its effectiveness and influence. It wants to tarnish the PLO's image in order to justify its policy of excluding the PLO from the international peace conference.

Q: *Do you think it is possible to convene a peace conference at this time, especially that the international community is preoccupied with the Gulf War?*

A: The international community, with the exception of the U.S. and Israel, supports the international conference. But I do not see a change in the American and Israeli positions in the near future. This means that prevailing conditions do not allow for the speedy convening of the conference.

Q: *What is the PLO's conception of the international peace conference?*

A: We accept the views of the U.N. Conference on the Question of Palestine (Geneva, 1983) and subsequent General Assembly recommendations on the subject of the peace conference. The U.N. called for a conference based on U.N. resolutions on Palestine, to be attended by the permanent members of the Security Council and the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people.

Q: *PLO relations with some Arab countries—Jordan, Syria, Egypt—have gone through a crisis.*

A: PLO relations with all Arab countries are guided by Arab summit resolutions. Individual parties must not deviate from the Arab consensus, and no one except the PLO has a right to speak for the Palestinians. When the Arab consensus is broken—as when Morocco unilaterally invited Shimon Peres for a visit—a crisis develops. We respect the Arab consensus and insist on relations governed by it.

Q: *What is the status of the recent agreement with Amal on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon?*

A: We strive for good relations with all parties and groups in Lebanon. Solving the crisis of the camps would help that objective. The agreement with Amal faces some obstacles, but we are serious about implementing it. We want nothing but the best for the people of Lebanon, and the preservation of the independence of their country.

Q: *How is the PLO helping the people of the occupied territories as Israeli repression intensifies?*

A: We and the people under occupation are one Palestinian people. Our struggle is one struggle. This struggle will continue until our people are free.

Q: *What is your opinion of ongoing dialogues between Palestinian and Israelis?*

A: The Palestine National Council has resolved that the PLO give special consideration to democratic, progressive Jewish elements inside and outside Israel. We see them as allies in the struggle for Palestinian rights and just peace. We favor dialogue with such forces which recognize true coexistence and support the national rights of the Palestinian people. □



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ANALYSIS... THE PERILS OF SELF-DECEPTION

Zionists are highly imaginative people, but this gift is reaching a point where it has become counterproductive. They are becoming so imaginative that they live in a fantasy world. The latest gimmick to justify their excesses is that they oppose the Palestine Liberation Organization for the good of the Palestinian people!

Yes, that is why the Israeli government rejects PLO participation in the peace process. The PLO cannot be trusted to safeguard the interests of the Palestinians, the way Israel can. At any rate, that is what Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir thinks, or at least says.

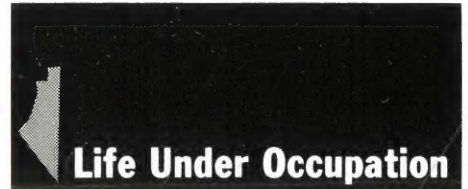
"We think," Shamir recently said in an interview published in *The Jerusalem Post* (international edition, week ending 24 October 1987), "that there is a conflict of interest between the PLO and the Palestinian Arab population and we have no wish to give the PLO the advantage." Very touching!

Actually, this Israeli concern for the interests of the Palestinian people is a new version of an old Zionist concept. When Herzl organized the Zionist movement in 1897 and began to shop around for a sponsor, he argued—among other things—that if the Jews were allowed to settle in Palestine they would bring with them "a river of gold" which would also benefit the Arabs. The Zionists did bring lots of money with them, but they used it to dispossess the Palestinians.

Some Zionists did not like this argument to justify Zionism. What if the Arabs, asked Vladimir Jabotinsky, tell us to get lost? What if they say they don't want our gold? Wouldn't that undermine our argument? But Zionist myths never die; they just fade away, and then they come back. So Shamir opposes the PLO for the good of the Palestinians.

Many people in the occupied territories have died to disabuse Shamir of his Zionist illusions. They died telling him that they do not want his protection. Eight died in October because they want him to go away. But then, if you asked Shamir why his soldiers shot them, he would explain that it was for the good of the Palestinians.

A small dose of self-deception helps, sometimes. People need to justify themselves. The Zionists need a lot of self-deception to justify what they have done to the Palestinians. But too much self-deception is counterproductive. That point is reached when Israel begins to fancy itself protector of Palestinian interests. □



Life Under Occupation

STORM OVER GAZA

Repression and Resistance Escalate

Intensified Israeli repression of Palestinians in the occupied territories and growing resistance to the occupation caused the simmering tension to explode in the worst outbreak of violence witnessed in the area since 1982. Conflict between the Palestinians and their Israeli occupiers were particularly intense in the Gaza Strip, where three Palestinians were shot dead by Israeli troops on the first of October, and where four others were killed a few days later, on the night of 6 October. A large number of Palestinians were also wounded during the protest strikes and demonstrations which swept the West Bank and Gaza in the aftermath of the killings.

A Palestinian journalist who visited the Gaza Strip a few days after the killings reported that Israeli troops harassed the families of their victims. Writing in *Al-Fajr* (18 October 1987), Said al-Ghazali said that members of the victims' families had been arrested, interrogated and in some cases beaten. In one case, he wrote, two thousand people marched to the home of one of the victims to express solidarity. "As members drew near the Hallas' house, Israeli soldiers threw teargas. One of the marchers caught a teargas canister and threw it back at the soldiers, who reacted by firing live ammunition. Five people, including a pregnant woman and a three-year-old boy, were wounded."

The flames of unrest were further fanned when a group of Jewish zealots attempted to intrude on Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and were confronted by Muslim worshippers. Israeli police arrested more than a dozen Palestinians, and at least forty others were treated for gas inhalation after the clash.

(continued on page 7)

WHY HAS THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT IMPRISONED THIS WEST BANK PALESTINIAN?

-IS IT BECAUSE:



- A ☐ HE SANG A PALESTINIAN NATIONAL SONG
- B ☐ HE OWNED A BOOK OF PALESTINIAN POETRY
- C ☐ HE WORE THE COLORS OF THE PALESTINIAN FLAG
- D ☐ HE WENT OUT WITHOUT HIS PASS CARD
- E ☒ ANY OF THE ABOVE

REMEMBER NOVEMBER 29... THE INTERNATIONAL
DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE
OF PALESTINE

BERKIN

FROM PALESTINE
New Videotape on Folk Culture



Now available, a new videotape on one of the picturesque aspects of Palestinian folk culture. The 75-minute tape features a large variety of native women's costumes from all regions of Palestine, including Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Jaffa, Ramallah, Gaza, the Negev, and the Galilee and their villages.

The costumes are modeled by women dancing to background Arabic music. Brief narrations explain regional differences in the material, colors and embroidery. In addition to dresses, the tape shows a variety of headdresses and jewelry worn by Palestinian women during the last century and early this century. These costumes are still worn by Palestinian women, especially in rural areas.

Although the tape suffers, in some places from poor lighting and is occasionally somewhat out of focus, it is an impressive effort to present a vanishing side of Palestinian culture.

The tape is available on Beta and VHS for \$65—including shipping and handling—from:

F & H Munayyer
P. O. Box 1018
W. Caldwell, NJ 07006

**TRAVEL BAN ON
PALESTINIAN CLERIC
RENEWED**

*Rev. Abu El-Assal Appeals
For Support*

The Israeli government has renewed for a second year the travel ban it imposed on Rev. Riah Abu El-Assal, Canon of Christ Evangelical Episcopal Church in Nazareth. Rev. Abu El-Assal was denied permission to travel abroad last year when he received invitations to speak in several countries in Europe and America.

Abu El-Assal's Statement

"I would like to take this opportunity to thank all my friends and all those around the world who have done so much on my behalf in the matter of the travel ban imposed upon me by the government of Israel. We received many hundreds of letters, telegrams and phone calls from well-wishers in North America, Europe and Australia who indicated they had notified their governments, media and human rights organizations about my situation.

"Although a number of governments had made representations to the government of Israel, demanded the travel ban be rescinded and my human rights be respected, the Israeli government has chosen to not heed these demands in favor of their continued restriction on my travel abroad. Even though Attorney General Joseph Harish declared in his letters of inquiries on my behalf that the ban was only for one year, I recently received notification from Yitzhak Shamir that the ban is in place for yet another year.

"I hope you will continue to express your opposition to the travel ban by writing again to the Israeli ambassador in your country and to Yitzhak Shamir, stating your objections to the ban and that it should be rescinded immediately.

"Your concern and support at this time are important. Notify the government of Israel that those in the world community who value the rule of law and democratic principles are aware of this injustice and will not tolerate the denial of human rights for Arab Palestinians in Israel...." □

STORM (continued from page 6)

These confrontations confirm the findings of a report by the Jerusalem-based Arab Studies Society which said that "1987 may prove to be as bloody as 1982" in the occupied territories. "The use of violence and deadly force by occupation forces against Palestinians have been steadily increasing since 1983," concludes a report done by the Society of Israeli violations of human rights since 1982.

The report says that so far in 1987, there have been 17 political killings of Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. In addition, 129 people suffered serious injury, 86 homes have been demolished or sealed, more than 13,000 trees have been destroyed, 4,500 political prisoners on the average languish in Israeli detention centers, 105 people are under administrative detention [including the Society's own director, Faisal Husseini], 77 people are under town arrest, 50 curfews have been imposed, and temporary closure orders have been issued against educational and other institutions 48 times.

Arab-American Protest

This intensified repression in the occupied territories has prompted the Council of Presidents of National Arab-American Organizations (Washington) to request a meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz to convey to the U.S. administration the concern of Arab-Americans about increasing Israeli violence against the Arab population of the occupied territories and the continuing threat to Islamic Holy places in occupied Jerusalem.

In a press statement issued on 15 October, the Council said it was "deeply alarmed over the escalating violence in the Israeli-occupied territories." It added that the Council "further deplores the attacks on Al-Aqsa Mosque" and called them "part of a persistent Israeli provocation intended to ultimately assume control of Islam's third holiest site."

The Council called on the U.S. State Department to investigate the situation in the occupied territories and to promote solutions to the underlying problems. □

"WE HAVE BEEN PAYING WITH OUR OWN LIVES"

[During his recent tour of the Middle East, Secretary of State George Shultz was handed the following statement by a representative of local Palestinian leaders in the occupied territories. The Palestinians had refused to meet with Shultz in protest against his strong pro-Israel bias and the recent State Department efforts to close the Palestine Information Office in Washington]:

Palestinian Statement

Dear Secretary:

Twenty hard years have passed since the occupation of our land by the Israelis. During this time, 1.5 million Palestinians lost their basic freedoms and became subject to Israel's plan to return us to the Middle Ages.

In trying to achieve such an unrealistic objective, the Israeli authorities have subjected our people to various harsh practices, starting with the building of settlements, land expropriation, attempts to undermine and destroy the national spirit of our Palestinian people and violation of every aspect of the codes of human rights.

When you introduced the concept of improving our quality of life under occupation three years ago, our people were surprised, for how can the Secretary of State of the U.S. imagine the possibility of creating a liberal occupation, since occupation can only mean subjugation of one people to another using force. Thus occupation and improvement of the quality of life would always remain parallel to each other.

Moreover, ever since you talked about this concept, the Israeli authorities have increased their harsh measures and practices against our people, our institutions, and our basic living standards and conditions. If you need to acquire specific details of the hardships we have suffered over the past three years, you could request such from the American Consulate in Jerusalem.

Mr. Secretary: With the continuation of the Israeli occupation and the lack of interest demonstrated by the current U.S. Administration, we believe that U.S. involvement in Middle East peace efforts has lost

its moral imperative and has become a matter of preference.

American policymakers still refuse to recognize the basic rights of our Palestinian people to self-determination and still refuse to accept the Palestine Liberation Organization as our sole legitimate representative, as repeatedly chosen by our people.

The continuation of this U.S. position will not serve the search for peace in the region, and it demonstrates the lack of desire to establish the true foundations for peace which will guarantee the rights and aspirations of all the people in the region and above all the national rights of the Palestinian people.

The American Administration should start reappraising its present policy and commitments, especially the policy of ignoring the PLO and the national rights of the Palestinian people. It should be kept in mind that since 1948 there have been 75 initiatives that attempted to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict. They all failed because they neglected the true political and national dimensions of the Palestinian problem.

We have been paying with our lives for the continuation of the status quo and in the hope that a just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict can be established. We would like to present to you the following facts which should be taken into consideration whenever and wherever the Arab-Israeli conflict is addressed or discussed.

1. The only way to start the peace process is through the convening of the international conference for peace under the supervision of the United Nations and with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council along with the direct participation of the parties in the conflict including the PLO which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people under occupation and in the diaspora.

2. The Palestinian people reject Security Council Resolution 242 in its present form because of the national and political nature of their problem. As expressed in

their aspiration to practice their right to self-determination and achieve their objective of establishing an independent Palestinian state on their national soil, as well as their right to choose their own representatives without Israeli or other pressure or custodianship.

3. Our Palestinian people have repeatedly declared their support for their sole and legitimate leadership, the PLO, and would like to confirm that this choice is an expression of our inalienable rights.

4. We demand that the U.S. Administration, which is a founding member of the United Nations, should adhere to the codes of ethics of the international organization by pressuring the Israeli government to treat us in accordance with the laws and codes outlined by the U.S. in reference to people who find themselves under the occupation of a foreign power due to wars.

5. We believe that occupation and improvement of the quality of life are two conflicting issues. In order for one to survive, the other has to vanish.

6. Our people would like to affirm their strong commitment to the cause of achieving a comprehensive, lasting and just peace, simply because they pay the real cost of the continuation of the status quo, and we hope that our point of view becomes known to the American people who are kept in the dark because they only hear the Israeli point of view.

7. We hope that your meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister will culminate in establishing the required foundations for a joint American-Soviet effort which will certainly pave the way for the forces of peace and diplomacy, instead of war and violence.

8. We condemn the closure of the Palestine Information Office in Washington. We view this decision as a result of pressures of the Zionist lobby in the U.S. We hope that this decision will be revoked in favor of maintaining our very limited lines of communication with the American people. □

16 October 1987

THE DETENTION OF FAISAL HUSSEINI

Head of Arab Studies Society Punished For Views

[The following statement was issued on 13 September 1987 by the Jerusalem-based Arab Studies Society on behalf of its director, Faisal Husseini, who has been subjected to continuing harassment by the Israeli occupation authorities]:

Faisal Husseini, 47, director of the Arab Studies Society in Jerusalem, was taken from his home by a squad of police on the night of 12 September and served with a six-month administrative detention order. The order, signed by Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli Minister of Defense, gave "security of the state" as the reason for the arrest. The police squad was headed by Yossi Mizrahi, head of the special projects (minorities) for the Jerusalem police, and the order was issued under the Emergency Regulations (Detention) 1979. Faisal Husseini was adopted as a prisoner of conscience in June of this year by Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization.

The Society believes that Mr. Husseini's detention, the third this year, is part of an ongoing Israeli campaign to disrupt its work and punish Husseini for taking a public, legal and non-violent stance against continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Despite the pressure of five years of town arrest and three jailings this year, Faisal has refused to resign his professional position or his political role as the co-founder and spokesperson of the Committee Confronting the Iron Fist. Most recently he chaired a panel of Committee activists, on 11 September, at an East Jerusalem press conference called to protest the

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"Who can be indifferent to an Israel where a minority of Jews rules over a majority of West Bank Palestinians, where the specter of a South Africa-like repression looms?"

Richard Cohen
The Washington Post
20 October 1987

banning of a peaceful march and demonstration planned as part of the international commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

Faisal Husseini has been restricted for the past five years. In 1982 he started a period of administrative town arrest which was extended every six months until February this year. In April, he was detained, along with 150 other Palestinians from all over the West Bank. The six-month administrative detention order issued against him then was later reduced to three months by Judge Weiss, president of the central district court in Jerusalem. Following his release in July, he was again issued a town arrest order. On August 26, Faisal was interrogated for 10 days at the Mas-cobiyya [prison] in West Jerusalem. In all these cases the only reason given for his detention or restriction was "security," and in all court hearings secret files to which neither he nor his lawyers were given access, were the only material presented against him.

Faisal Husseini's detention is part of an escalating campaign by the Israeli authorities to illegalize all opposition to occupation. He has repeatedly and publicly announced over the past several years his desire for a negotiated settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and is perhaps the most prominent Palestinian in the occupied territories promoting the idea that such a settlement should be achieved through non-violent pressure and talks between the Israeli government and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Arab Studies Society is concerned about the implications for life under occupation of these Israeli measures. The society's work is social, economic, historical and human rights research, and Mr. Husseini's public cooperation with Israelis and Palestinians striving for a just settlement to the conflict are under attack. It could be concluded that the state of Israel wishes to close all but underground military options to the population it controls.... □

WHEN CONSCIENCE AND LAW CLASH

*Israeli Conscientious Objector
Speaks Out*

The following is part of an interview with one of a group of Israeli high school students who have recently sent a letter to the Israeli Defense Minister informing him that they refuse to serve in the Israeli army on grounds of conscience. The interview was originally published in *Al-Ittihad* (Haifa), 5 October 1987:

Q: How did your group organize?

A: It started with the 5 June demonstration against 20 years of occupation [of the West Bank and Gaza]. At that time, 17 of us discussed the issues and decided to refuse to serve and to inform the Minister of Defense. Sixteen of us signed the letter.

Q: What are your motives?

A: We are simply not prepared to be soldiers in an occupation army which represses another people, which destroys homes and commits aggression against another people.

Q: And what do you expect to accomplish?

A: We hope to be exempted from military service on grounds of conscience.

Q: What if your request is refused?

A: We will struggle. We will refuse and persist in our refusal.

Q: And go to prison?

A: Yes; those of us who can.

Q: Are you defying the law?

A: Law is not above everything. When conscience and law clash, conscience must override. It is true that democracy means the rule of the majority, but true democracy also means the rights of the minority.

Q: Some people say that you could influence things from within.

A: We know what they mean. They mean "enlightened occupation." We do not believe that there is such a thing as enlightened occupation. Occupation means repression, destruction and killing. We do not wish to be party to it. □



THE TORTURE OF CHILDREN

[The following report, an Associated Press dispatch from the occupied Gaza Strip, was published by the *San Francisco Chronicle* of 4 August 1987]:

Two new reports by human rights groups detail allegations that Palestinian children are tortured in Israeli prisons, and they accuse Israel of exercising a policy of arbitrary arrest of minors in the occupied territories.

Israeli authorities rejected the assertions that the army engages in systematic abuse.

In affidavits, Arab teenagers described being hooded and handcuffed for long periods, beaten with riot strikes on their feet and genitals, and locked for hours in a three-foot-wide cupboard.

The children, some as young as 12, also said Israeli interrogators shoved boiling hot eggs under their armpits, put out cigarettes inside their ears and rammed them repeatedly against a wall while their hands were tied to the ceiling.

"We are alleging a systematic policy of abusing children accused of security offenses, involving both torture and intimidation. Children are interrogated in the same way as adults," said Omar Yasin, author of a report by Law in the Service of Man.

The group, founded by Palestinian lawyers, is an affiliate of the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists. It has collected

13 affidavits and 77 questionnaires from youths, 13 to 17 [years old] since 1985, alleging abuse and torture in jails in the occupied West Bank.

Palestinian youngsters are the core of street protests against the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, often clashing with Israeli troops. Arrested for rock throwing and other offenses, the teenagers are jailed for up to one year. More than half those cited in the report eventually were released without charge.

The second report, by the Rev. Riah Abu al-Assal, an Anglican priest from Nazareth, and three American volunteers, contains statements from 16 minors, ages 12 to 17, alleging "systematic intimidation, humiliation and excessive physical abuse, including torture."

Both reports criticized an army regulation that bans detainees, including minors, from contacting relatives or lawyers for up to 18 days unless they agree to sign a confession.

Israeli army spokesman Rannan Gissin said: "A prison system is not a Hilton. But there is no policy whatsoever which advocates torturing or ill-treating prisoners."

Military officials said three cases of alleged abuse of imprisoned children had been investigated in the past three years and one Israeli interrogator was convicted as a result. □

BIG BROTHER COMES TO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

[Under this heading, *The Other Israel*, newsletter of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, published the following item from the Israeli magazine *Koteret Rashit* of 29 July 1987]:

As these words are being written, a far-reaching change is taking place in the Israeli administration of the occupied territories. Part of a big office building in Tel-Aviv has been declared a 'restricted military area,' to which only holders of special passes—mainly senior officials and army officers—are admitted. Inside, Israeli computer experts are engaged in a giant project: personal data on each individual living under occupation are being placed in a computer's memory. As described to the press, this includes "any conceivable kind of information on the population, including data on properties, land ownership, pedigrees, licenses, professions, consumption habits and other details."

The Other Israel thinks that the data would be used to pressure Palestinians to collaborate with the occupation authorities by granting or withholding licenses and permits to coerce such collaboration. It also believes that Israel would use the information for the purpose of confiscating more Arab property. "Computerized records of land ownership and of each Arab peasant's ancestry," it wrote in its September 1987 issue, "might prove useful to the [Israeli] Justice Ministry's legal experts in their zealous efforts to declare the lands to be 'State Property,' and therefore available to Israeli settlers." □

PALESTINE ELECTED TO IOJ

The International Organization of Journalists elected Palestine as a member of its governing council during its annual meeting, held in Cyprus from 20-23 October 1987. Bassam Abu Sharif, a member of the PLO Central Council, will serve as the IOJ's Vice Chairman. This is the first time that Palestine is represented on the executive. □

DEATH IN PRISON

The family of Palestinian political prisoner Awad Hamdan, 23, has petitioned the Israeli High Court to order an investigation of the sudden death of Awad in Israeli custody. Awad Hamdan died last July in Jenin prison, two days after his arrest.

The Israeli authorities first claimed that the Palestinian prisoner had died of a snake bite, but later said that it was a heart attack that killed him. His family said Awad had always been in excellent health and had never needed medical treatment.

The family petitioned the High Court to order an investigation when the family noticed signs of beatings and internal bleeding on Awad's body as they prepared him for burial. □

HOW DO WE ATONE?

Moshe ben Shlomo

How do we atone? And we have much to atone for. We must atone for Awad Hamdan, murdered in an Israeli prison by his interrogators. "Heart Attack," the verdict read. Died in a hospital that says they don't have his name. Dumped on his family's doorstep in the dead of night and given a hasty burial. We gave him a military escort at his burial though, a nice touch. Is he the only heart attack victim, or were there others?

How do we atone? And we have much to atone for. We must atone for the murder of Hussein Abu Hamdan, age 12. Murdered in Balata camp by some of Israel's finest. One bullet killed him. His crime? Going to the store for his mom at the wrong time. The military express their overwhelming grief by severely beating six Balata youths with their fists, nailed clubs, wire whips, and their boots. So consumed with grief were they that they bashed Kamal Jarmy's head against the wall and broke his teeth. Will the soldiers responsible ask God for forgiveness? Can we forgive ourselves for not speaking out?

How do we atone? You ask what we have to atone for? We must atone for the dozens of prisoners in our jails without charges or trial and the dozens of others confined to their towns or villages, all by the stroke of the military's pen. For the dozens of people deported from their homeland who can never return. For the dozens who sleep under the stars because their homes were demolished in the

name of our security (there is that pen again).

As we pray in the Old City [of Jerusalem], will we remember to atone for the homes we stole a few meters away? For the houses we stole and the families we dispossessed? When first I came I thought I saw the Arabs hearts stir at the sounding of the shofar. I thought I saw this, but maybe it was a shudder of fear.

How do we atone? We close them off like cattle in a pen. I read it in the papers, I didn't have to bother to go look for myself. The papers said we will close off the "Administered Areas" (sic) from sundown to sundown. Is this so heathens won't taint us on our holiest of holies? Was it on purpose or just unbridled stupidity that in the process we closed Ramallah off from Bethlehem, Nablus off from Hebron, the Gaza Strip off from the West Bank, and the West Bank off from Occupied Jerusalem?

And although we have much to atone for, Israeli politicians slap each other on the back and praise our democracy. Jews in the U.S. send their dollars to fill our coffers during their one trip to synagogue per year, and even our liberal journalists slap us on the backs because torture here, according to Amnesty, is not as bad as in Iran. Have we really gone that mad?

We have much to atone for. Whom do we ask for forgiveness?

[From Al-Fajr, Jerusalem, 11 October 1987]

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

1987 Report

The human rights organization, Amnesty International, has issued its 1987 report on human rights violations throughout the world. The report shows that Israeli violations of human rights in the occupied territories continue.

The violations cited in the report, which covers the year 1986, include administrative detention [imprisonment without charges or trials]. AI said that it had received the names of 144 Palestinians from the occupied territories who had been placed under administrative detention in 1986. They were mainly students and trade unionists.

AI reported the failure of its efforts to prevent Israel from deporting Palestinian journalist Akram Haniyah, editor of the Jerusalem-based *Al-Sha'b* newspaper. "Amnesty International believed he might have been a prisoner of conscience," the report said, "and called for him to be formally charged and tried or released." Haniyah was deported to Algeria via Switzerland on 28 December 1986.

The AI report also said that it had received the names of 66 people—also mainly students and trade unionists—whose movement was restricted in 1986 by being placed under town arrest. It also reported cases of torture in prisons. □

"PALESTINE LIVES" UHLF Convention

The Chicago-based Palestinian-American charitable organization, the United Holy Land Fund, will hold its 19th annual convention 4-6 December 1987 in Texas. The theme of the convention this year is "Palestine Lives: Palestinian Institutions—Survival and Development." Representatives of social, educational and health institutions in Lebanon and the occupied West Bank and Gaza will be speakers at the convention.

For more information and registration, contact UHLF, P.O. Box 1981, Chicago, Illinois 60690, telephone (312) 663-9056.

COMMENTARY... BETWEEN SUPPORT AND SUBSERVIENCE

American policy in the Middle East is usually explained as a reflection of American support for Israel. Leaving aside the issues of whether or not the U.S. should support Israel, under what conditions, at what cost, in what form, and to what extent, the question remains: Is there no difference between support for Israel and slavish subservience to it?

In September, the State Department—after initial objections—surrendered to Zionist pressure, channeled through congress, and ordered the Palestine Information Office in Washington closed. It was a compromise between the administration's sense of the national interest and the Zionist lobby's sense of Israeli interests.

But when the State Department carried out its part of the deal, Israel's friends reneged on theirs. They introduced sweeping anti-Palestinian legislation in congress which would require the administration to violate U.S. treaty obligations and, in effect, would drag this country into Israel's relentless crusade against the Palestinian people and their Arab and non-Arab supporters. This has been Israel's strategy for years: to make the U.S. a partner, and not only a supporter, of Israel in its war on the Arab people. Is it beginning to pay off?

The Tower Commission, in its report on the Iran-Contra scandal, faulted the Reagan administration for failing to distinguish between American interests and Israeli interests. This time, it is congress which needs to be reminded that what is good for General Motors (Israel, in this case) is not necessarily good for America. Congress needs to be reminded that, even at election time, support for Israel is not the same thing as subservience to Israel. America needs and deserves better from its public servants. □

ZIONISTS AFTER JACKSON

In an effort to get American Zionists off of his back, presidential candidate Jesse Jackson stressed his sensitivity to Jewish concerns and said that he had a history of standing by Jews when they were under attack. In an interview with *Tikkun*, a liberal Jewish bimonthly magazine, Jackson said that he had confronted Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on the question of Soviet Jews and stood by the Jewish community in Skokie, Illinois, when American Nazis marched in that town.

Leaders of the American Jewish community, however, refuse to be reconciled. They apparently want to tame Jackson rather than reach an understanding with him. They want him to put Israel above the law, like other political candidates do, and stop criticizing the Jewish state.

A member of the magazine's editorial board criticized the negative attitude of Jewish leaders to Jackson's overtures. Norman Birnbaum was quoted by the *New York Times* (16 October) as saying that "The

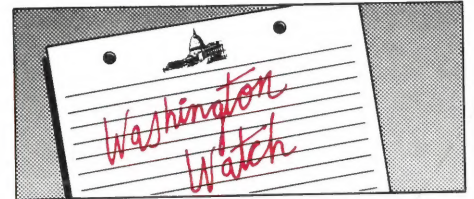
REDGRAVE WINS BSO CASE

A federal court in Boston ruled that the Boston Symphony Orchestra violated the civil rights of actress Vanessa Redgrave when it canceled a performance by her due to Zionist pressure. In 1982, the Boston Orchestra canceled Redgrave's scheduled performance of Stravinsky's "Oedipus Rex" when pro-Israel money donors threatened to stop their financial support of the orchestra if Redgrave's show was permitted to take place.

Vanessa Redgrave, the well-known British artist, is known for her support of the Palestinians. For that reason, she is frequently targeted by Zionists.

In its decision, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit said that permitting this sort of censorship "would be to give free rein to those seeking to intimidate artists engaged in political activity." □

Rev. Jackson's recent efforts to extend a hand of friendship and recognition to the Jewish community have been met with insensitivity and harshness." □



AMERICAN-PALESTINIAN DIALOGUE

A 20-member American delegation, representing human rights and religious groups, met with four representatives from the Palestine Liberation Organization in New York and discussed common concerns. The four Palestinians were Farouk Qaddoumi, head of the PLO Political Department; Mohammed Milhem, member of the PLO Executive Committee; Shafiq al-Hout, director of the PLO's Beirut Office, and alternate PLO Observer at the United Nations Nasser al-Qudwa. The meeting took place on 6 October.

The Americans included Henry Schwarzschild and Phillipa Strum of the American Civil Liberties Union; Rabbis Marc Gruber, Michael Robinson, and Brian Walt; Ron Daniels of the National Rainbow Coalition; Blaise Lupo, director of Clergy and Laity Concerned, and others. The two-hour dialogue was organized by James Zogby, Executive Director of the Arab American Institute, and Gail Pressberg, Executive Director of the Foundation for Middle East Peace.

ACLU Vice-President, Dr. Phillipa Strum, spoke out against the State Department's decision to close the Palestine Information Office in Washington, one of the concerns discussed in the meeting. "It is outrageous," she said, "for the U.S. administration, in the bicentennial year of our constitution, to assume that Americans are too stupid to understand and evaluate ideas."

Shafiq al-Hout responded that "the Palestinians have always tended to view the American people as freedom fighters, as helpers of the underdog, as liberators. It is thus ironic," he said, "that we Palestinians find all doors closed to us and no dialogue possible."

Jewish participants pointed out that change is taking place among American Jews, who are increasingly accepting contacts with the

(continued on page 13)

AMERICAN-ARAB RELATIONS EXAMINED

Conference Looks Into Political and Economic Issues

The American-Arab Affairs Council cosponsored with Memphis State University a two-day conference on political and economic relations between the U.S. and the Arab World. The conference, held in Memphis in mid-October, presented a large number of Arab and American speakers from academia, government and business.

Among the speakers was Congressman Nick J. Rahall (D-WV), who urged the U.S. government to support the convening of an international peace conference in the Middle East as "perhaps the best hope for any progress" towards peace in the region. He criticized the Reagan administration for its "reluctance to pressure Israel," whose government has "proved to be the major obstacle to bringing a peace conference to reality." Rahall also criticized the presidential candidates of both parties who, with the exception of Jesse Jackson, have shown no inclination to debate issues related to the Middle East or to present options on how to bring peace to the area.

Salvaging Peace

Rahall was followed by Arab League ambassador Clovis Maksoud who said that the Arabs "want to salvage the peace option but do not want to be pacified. We are all moderates as long as our rights are forthcoming." Maksoud said that realistic peace is one "that is accompanied with justice for the Palestinians, the Lebanese and the Arabs in general."

Commenting on Israel's demands that the Arabs should recognize it and come to negotiations without a "predetermined outcome," ambassador Maksoud asked: "What are the borders that Israel recognizes for itself that we can ultimately recognize?" As to negotiating without a "predetermined outcome," he said that "if you remove the predetermined outcome as the object of negotiations, these negotiations become a buyer of time and ultimately a cover-up for the continuing annexation and occupation of the Arab territories."

A comprehensive peace, he added, should be based on three pillars: Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, and the right to secure borders for all concerned.

Ambassador Maksoud also criticized the decision to close the Palestine Information Office in Washington and the subsequent anti-Palestinian legislation introduced in Congress. "Excluding an authoritative voice of the Palestinian people from being an input factored into the decision-making process of the United States," he said, "would reinforce the biased approach that has characterized U.S. policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict."

The Cost of No Peace

The conference also heard an assessment of the economic cost to the United States of the absence of peace in the Middle East. Richard Hobbs, Vice President of Teledyne Industries, said that "Israel benefits economically from the 'no peace' situation in the Middle East" but that situation has been extensively harmful to the American economy. "The long-term costs may be catastrophic," he warned.

Hobbs explained that U.S. economic losses in the Middle East have reached \$632-832 billion, costing 5.45-12.9 million American jobs. "We restrict trade with Arabs who pay cash in favor of trade with Israel which pays nothing," he said.

DIALOGUE *(continued from page 12)*

PLO and dialogue with the Palestinians. There was no negative feedback from their congregations, they said, when they informed them of their intended meeting with PLO representatives. The Kuwait News Agency reported that Jewish participants noted the conciliatory tone of the Palestinian representatives, and quoted Farouk Qaddoumi saying: "Our position is we want to change the mentality of the Israelis, not to kill them." □

THE NEW ANTI-SEMITISM

The *Detroit Free Press* published a two-part series on Arab-Americans in July, which calls attention to the prejudice experienced by the Arab-American community in recent years. The series, written by *Free Press* staff writer Tom Hundley, has been reproduced as a special report by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

The report shows that in the Detroit area, where the largest Arab-American community lives, Arabs experience discrimination more than Jews in several categories studied by the author. For example, while only one percent of Jews reported experiencing discrimination when buying or renting a residence, ten percent of the Arab-Americans experienced such discrimination. Twelve percent of Arab-Americans and five percent of the Jews experienced discrimination by the police, while eleven percent of the Arabs and four percent of the Jews experienced discrimination in getting a job promotion. The Jews experienced more discrimination (60 percent) as targets of ethnic jokes, racial slurs and verbal abuse than the Arabs (38 percent).

Of 29 films released since 1984 that vilify Arabs, 13 were produced in Israel.

Tom Hundley says that the Arabs blame Israel's supporters in America for encouraging much of the anti-Arab sentiment in this country. "In order to arouse sympathy for Israel," an Arab-American told him, "they have to make Arabs look bad. They zero in on the whole Arab world, and that affects us. I don't think the pro-Israel lobby has any feelings for Arab-Americans. They're only interested in what's good for Israel."

Media critic Jack Shaheen—professor at Southern Illinois University and author of *The TV Arab*—said that he counted 29 films released since 1984 that vilify Arabs. Of these 29 films, he said, 13 were produced in Israel. □

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EUROPE AND PALESTINIAN FARMERS

EEC Seeks Ways to Aid Agriculture

There has been a tug of war between Israel and the European Economic Community. The issue: European desire to help farmers in occupied Palestine by permitting the direct export of Palestinian agricultural commodities to Western Europe.

Israel refuses to allow such direct links between the occupied territories and Europe. It insists on maintaining its present role of middleman, and insists that all Palestinian exports to Europe go through Agrexco, the Israeli monopoly in charge of agricultural exports. Besides its commercial motives, Israel fears that direct links between Europe and the occupied territories would reinforce the idea of Palestinian self-determination and independence.

The Europeans feel that it is unfair that all countries in the Middle East—including Israel—enjoy preferential terms of trade with the European Economic Community, except occupied Palestine. Some of them understand Israel's political motives behind holding Palestinian agriculture hostage to Israeli interests and wish to help the Palestinians survive the pressure.

The EEC had decided a year ago to participate in funding projects in the occupied territories and allocated a small budget of \$3.5 million for that purpose. Some of the Europeans, led by Claude Cheysson, European Commissioner in charge of North-South Relations, want Europe to co-finance with Arab organizations certain development projects in the occupied territories. Pushing for the right of Palestinian farmers to export directly to the countries of the Common Market is considered to be an important European contribution to the welfare of the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Cheysson, who had been France's Foreign Minister in the early 1980s, has been championing the idea of direct European assistance to the Palestinians. As a young French army officer, he had lived in Palestine during its partition in the late 1940s and had witnessed the tragedy of Palestine caused by the establishment of the Jewish state. The experience had made him a life-long and staunch supporter of the Palestinian people. □

[Based on an article by Helga Graham, reprinted in Al-Fajr of 11 October 1987]

U.S. CONTRACTS FOR ISRAEL

It seems that the U.S. government is on the verge of compensating Israel for scrapping its "white elephant," the Lavi jet fighter. The government is expected shortly to approve several Israeli requests for U.S. military contracts totaling hundreds of millions of dollars. These contracts include a \$200 million deal involving the manufacture of tactical ballistic missiles. The Pentagon is also expected to award Israel's armament industry a \$100 million contract to service European-based U.S. military equipment. Reports persist that extracting more aid from the U.S. in exchange for abandoning the Lavi fighter has been one of the main topics discussed by Israeli officials during Secretary Shultz's recent visit to Israel. □



BRITISH MINISTER CRITICIZES ISRAELI OCCUPATION

Displacement of Palestinians Is Inhuman Proposition

Israel's continued occupation and repression came under attack during a "Conservative Friends of Israel" meeting in Blackpool, Britain. The occupation was strongly criticized by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, who said that the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has negative effects on the territories and can only lead to more repression.

Howe was particularly critical of calls for the eviction of Palestinian Arabs and called them "inhuman propositions." He repeated British government's position in support of convening an international peace conference, which the Israeli government opposes.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is also critical of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's adamant opposition to a Middle East peace conference. Minister of State for the Home Office, David Mellor, reportedly said: "We feel depressed about Yitzhak Shamir's views on the peace conference... Prime Minister Thatcher feels even more strongly about this." □

NORWAY WORRIED ABOUT ISRAEL

Suspects Misuse of Heavy Water

Norway is concerned of possible Israeli misuse of large quantities of heavy water sold to Israel in 1960 for peaceful uses. Norway's concern stems from the persistence of reports of Israeli use of its heavy water for the production of nuclear weapons, in violation of the agreement under which Israel acquired it.

Recently, the Norwegian government has dispatched a team of negotiators to persuade Israel to permit international inspection of its nuclear facilities where the Norwegian heavy water is in use. Israel has turned down the Norwegian request. A Norwegian Foreign Ministry official said that Norway, under the agreement with Israel, would be entitled to demand the return of 20 tons of heavy water sold to Israel if it is established that Israel had violated the conditions of the agreement.

The Norwegian team is currently preparing a report on its mission to Israel.

Israel has refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and has repeatedly refused international inspection of its nuclear reactors. Although Israeli officials keep insisting that "Israel will not introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East," it is a widely-known fact that it had done so already. □

ISRAEL AND AMERICAN JEWS

"Pockets Open . . . and Mouths Shut"

To justify their single-minded and uncritical support of Israel and its policies, Zionists have always claimed that the fate of Israel and that of Jews everywhere are interdependent. For this reason, Zionists have not only refrained from criticizing Israel but also forbade public discussion of its policies. In fact, this Zionist "no-no" against open discussion became a form of intimidation when Zionists claimed that criticism of Israel by Jews would open the Pandora's Box of anti-Semitism.

Ironically, nowhere was this taboo against debate more evident than in the American republic. American Zionists not only worked hard to prevent debate on Israel in Congress, the media, academia, the churches, etc. (see Paul Findley's *They Dare To Speak Out*), but they also worked even harder to clamp down on dissent among the American Jewish community.

But cracks were bound to develop. Rising Israeli extremism, and consequently increasing disaffection with Israeli policy, have been making it more and more difficult for American Jews to "grin and bear it." Silence has become a form of complicity with Israel's crimes. Repression in the occupied territories, the invasion of Lebanon and the genocidal consequences of that war, Israel's hardening position on peace in the Middle East, and its abuse of American generosity ex-

pressed by Israeli spying on America and its theft of American military technology all have contributed to the emergence and spread of Jewish dissent from Israeli policy. American Jews are becoming fearful that Israel's disregard of American sensitivities would someday cause a backlash against a greedy and ungrateful Israel.

Now, the process has begun to touch the Zionist establishment itself. Voices are being heard against Israeli government policy regarding the peace process. Encouraged by a split in the two-headed Israeli cabinet—where Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and his Labor ministers confront Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and his Likud partners—American Zionists have begun to take sides in that Israeli feud.

Recently, the American Jewish Congress broke the "hear no evil, see no evil, and speak no evil" tradition, and issued a statement in obvious support of Peres against Shamir. Because the Israeli government itself is deadlocked on the issue of international peace conference, the Committee said, it was necessary for it to speak out. The Zionist Organization of America, on the other hand, maintained the usual Zionist view that it was inappropriate for American Jews to "interfere" in the Israeli debate. It called on American Jews to show

ISRAEL WARNS U.S.

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin warned that Israel "would resist" if the U.S. tries to reduce its military and economic assistance to Israel. Rabin was commenting, in a press conference on 28 October, on reports that the U.S. Office of Management and Budget estimates that Israel might lose up to \$140 million in military and economic aid under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget deficit reduction act. Israel currently receives \$1,000 in U.S. official aid for every Israeli, as a free gift.

Judging by past experience, Israel has nothing to fear. Congress is likely to exempt Israel from the burden of reducing the U.S. budget deficit. America's poor may pay their dues. Even the Pentagon may pay its dues...but not Israel. Between America and Israel, the giving goes one way, no matter what. The least that Rabin could do is be less pushy about it. □

faith in the Israeli "democratic process"—essentially by sacrificing their own.

This Zionist position was described aptly by Israeli politician Abba Eban. During a recent visit to this country, he told a group of American Jewish leaders in New York that Shamir's attitude toward American Jews was one of "keep your pockets open and your mouths shut." Shamir's followers in America agree to do just that. □



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